

1753
Hibernia Pacata:

OR, A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

Affairs of IRELAND,

FROM THE

Famous Battle of CLONTARF, where
BRIAN BOIROM defeated the NORWEGIANS,
till the Settlement under HENRY II.

Written Originally in IRISH,

And now First Translated by FA-
THER NERI of *Tuam*,

AND

Adorned with Notes by several Hands.

Printed in the Year, 1753.





Hibernia Pacata :
OR, A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
Affairs of IRELAND.



HERE never was a Kingdom so extensive and populous, of such early Eminence in Learning and Commerce, so little known in History, or so little enquired after as *Ireland*. We were a considerable People in the Times of *Tacitus*, who attended his Father-in-law

Julius Agricola in his expedition to *Britain*, who expressly says, * “ *Ireland* had better “ *Commerce* and was more civilized than “ *Britain*.” From thence to *Henry* the Second we count all to be fabulous, and know little more of ourselves, than that *Saint Patrick* converted us to Christianity; and the Accounts of *Henry’s* uniting *Ireland* to his *British* Dominions, and the Settlement he made, seems, if we consult only *Keating* and our own Historians, to be the Work of a few Adventurers. It looks in them like a *Rebearfal* Revolution, and the Throne of *Ireland* as easily ascended by that Prince, as that of the *Brentford Kings* was by the *Gentleman Usber*. But surely many secret Wheels must have been at work, and latent Causes to effect it, and reduce so many petty Princes to the sole Government of one. Kingdoms are not so easily transferred as speculative Politicians imagine, and the little Kingdom of *Corfica* has

* Vide *Cambden’s Britannia*.

has given all the Potentates of *Europe*, a Bone too hard to be picked.

I imagine it may be agreeable to the Curious in Antiquity, as well as serviceable to the present Generation, to have a clear Insight of the particular Transactions of that Period of Time, consisting only of twenty Years, before the Union of *Ireland* with *England* was attempted, when the Chiefs of *Ireland* united themselves under *Brian*, and restored Tranquillity to their Country.

THE Chiefs of *Ireland* were more than three hundred; but those of most Authority were the Chiefs of *Munster*, *Opbaly* and *Con-naught*; of *Ulster* and *Meath* *.

WE are indebted for this Period of History, to the Curiosity, and singular Industry of

* *Meath* seems to have been an inconsiderable Chief, as Authors can't agree about his Name. *Cambden* calls him *Rorke*; *Keating*, *Malsoklin*; and *Milton* differs from both.

of Doctor *Godfrey*, who picked out of the Ruins of *Bermingham* Tower, an *Irish* Manuscript written by *Dermic Macsbaglin*, a Relation (as he says himself) and Follower, to the *Royal* Family of *Opbaly*; and he seems to deserve the more Credit, as he was nearly Cotemporary with the Facts he relates, and does not spare his Friends when their Conduct was blameable.

ANNO † MXXXXXII, (for then the History begins,) *Magnus* King of *Norway* was in Possession of *Ireland* and the *British* Isles. He was a gracious Prince, and better beloved by his new Subjects, than any Predecessor of their *Native* Line, for his Bravery and Love of Justice. He fought their Battles abroad, and victory still followed his Person. He quelled their intestine Conspiracies, and guarded their Rights and Properties. He was the only Prince in the Memory

† There is a small Anachronism here of eighteen Years; but that is a trifle among *Irish* Historians. Our Author, however, is more exact than *Keating*.

mory of Time, who observed a *Stipulation* always made, and before always broken through, (viz.) not to be directed by his *Natal Subjects*, in the Government of those who had put themselves under him. He had the Love of his *British* Subjects, but the Adoration of his *Irish*, who had prospered more under his equal Government in a few Years, than in any Century before.

TOWARDS the twentieth Year of his Reign some of the *Norwegians*, who had settled in *Ireland*, and got great Possessions, seemed to be out of Humour with their own Prosperity, or at least upon the Ruins of *Ireland*, intended to build up for themselves a mighty Fortune, and great Power in their Mother Country. To this Ambition they would sacrifice the Interests of *Norway* in *Ireland*, as well as injure his Affairs at Home. The *Waterford* Chiefs, (for they could hardly be called Princes) were the first that laid the Plan, and by sundry Arts drew in others to assist them, and under sundry Pretences concealed

cealed their main Design. *Brian of Munster* was first to be removed from the Power with which *Norway* had entrusted him, ere they could expect their Enterprize to prosper. He had given such Proofs of his Integrity in the Course of his Administration, and equal Regard to his Master's general Interest, as well as that of his Subjects, that he was said to be the first who had united *Patriotism* and *Loyalty* together; and they well knew would be the last to comply with Schemes that should lessen the Affections of his Master's Subjects, or any Way diminish his Power in *Ireland*. To have him removed then, was the first Effort to be made, and they had often times made it but in vain; and found by Experience there was no Way to compass it, but by the Help of the *Vice-Roy* sent over every third Year from *Norway*. That too they had often tried in vain; for *Brien* had made the Government of every *Vice-Roy* easy; and as the Demands of *Norway* were always reasonable, secured him any Tribute he wanted for supporting his Govern-

Government, and of himself defeated any Party would oppose it, without calling in the *Vice-Roy* to his aid, or rendering him obnoxious to any of his Master's Subjects.

In the Year above mentioned it unfortunately happened for the Interests both of *Ireland* and *Norway*, that the *Vice-Roy* was prevailed on to join in the Design of removing *Brian*, and assist with all his Power the Chiefs of *Waterford*. The *Vice-Roy* was esteemed a Man of *Probity* and Honour, but Good-natured to a Fault, and too indulgent to his Favourites.

* *Galefius*, a Foreigner, supposed to be an *Italian*, was a little before *secularised*, and by the

B *Vice-Roy*

* Our Author here has fallen into two Mistakes. *Galefius* is not said to be an *Italian* by any Author of credit, but it was the Fashion then to give Men *Italian* Names, as the *Germans* now give *Latin* Names to the *English*. In the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earl of *Stairs* is stiled *Consiliarius gradibus*. Again, there was no need of *Secularizing* the

Vice-Roy advanced to the See of *St. Patrick*. He had nothing about him of the Churchman but his Dress, and a large Share of their temporal Ambition. *Brian's* Power was a Goad in his Side, and his Reputation a Thorn in his Eye: He made a League with the *Vice-Roy's* Son, who was a haughty and a headlong Youth, to make him jealous of his Councillors, and delegate, in a manner, his whole Power to themselves, which they used as Men always do, who start into station, and become giddy with their Fortune. They put themselves at the Head of the Confederacy against *Brian*, and by large Promises and small Benefits, got over some of his Troops to join them; among whom were reckoned his Nephew, one of the petty Chiefs of *Leix*, and others whom he had raised from nothing, by covering their littleness, and suffering them to grow under the Shadow

the *Prelate* in question, as he had never been among the *Regulars* in his Life. In *Cambden* there is another *Galeus* just 100 Years after.

Shadow of his Wing ; from a Perswasion they would answer his Expectations, be loyal to their King, and faithful to their Country. However their new Masters were but little strengthened by the Desertion, which only served to swell their Vanity and betray their Weakness ; and judging their Forces to be stronger than they were, they * challenged *Brian* to a pitched Battle (called the Battle of *Clontarf*) where they suffered a total Defeat on the fifth and sixth of *March*, 1052.

The Issue of this Battle gave a Check to the Ambition of the *Waterford* Chiefs, and dismayed their Auxiliaries. They lost all Heart for the present, and their Troops could not be brought up to face the Enemy again, or even to wear a good Countenance : They retired into Quarters with their shattered Remains,

B 2

mains,

* It was the Custom of the Times to appoint the Place and Time of fighting ; and we find the Chief of *Munster* challenging *Roderick of Connaught* to meet him on a certain Day, which *Roderick* desired he would put off for a Month, till he had called his Forces together, and had his Son Christened. See *Keating*, Ann. 1018.

mains, and the *Vice-Roy* and his Son returned home, disgusted with the Defeat they had sustained, and intent on a Reinforcement for another Campaign. Their Retreat was shabby, and had been quite ridiculous, if *Brian* had not covered it thro' Excess of Generosity, and protected them from the Banter of the † Commons, as they departed.

When they got home the young Man bestirred himself notably, in decrying the Conduct of *Brian*, and extolling the Power of *Galefius*. He sent one Courier on the back of another to *Ireland*, to notify his Success in getting larger Powers from *Norway* against next Year; and *Galefius* sent as many to him, to magnify the Alliances he was daily making among the *Irish* Chiefs, and the mighty Recruits

† I remember but one other Instance of an Army in this ridiculous Situation; When the young *Chevalier* came to *Derby*, his Army was *Mobbed*, or, as our Author phrases it, *Bantered by the Commons*,

Malsocblin was not present at the Battle, as *Keating* supposes; but at the second, fought two Years after near *Dublin*. See *Cambrensis*.

recruits he was raising, what * Honours were paid to him and his Friends all over *Ireland*, and how strangely they were beloved by the People (who, by the way, were laughing at them, and the mountebank Arts they had recourse to) how *Brian* was fallen in the Esteem of all Men since they perceived neither he or his Friends were to expect any Favours from *Norway*. But the Event will shew how *Brian* stood in their Esteem, and disclose a Scene, where the Actors in it adhered to him and the Interests of their King, and could not be brought over by the hopes of getting or the fears of losing, to join those who were setting up an Interest distinct from his, and lavishing his Tribute to make Friends for themselves, and pave the way to an exorbitant Power. And the Success they boasted, in recruiting, was disproved by themselves in the advanced Price of listing Money they offered for Volunteers, and the arbitrary

Press

* They were mostly *sham* Honours, and always bought, according to *Giraldus* and the *Polychronicon*.

Press they sent out to all Parts of *Ireland* where their Influence reached, or their Menaces were feared †.

GALESIUS gave out that the *Vice-Roy* was returning with full Powers from *Magnus* to cashier all Officers, whether *Irish* or *Norwegian*, who should dispute the Orders of his Son, or hesitate on the Measures he proposed. This was doubted, but whether true or false, the Declaration laid open the Schemes of the Party, and their Desigus were now obvious to all Men. Their haughty Carriage and precipitate Proceedings, their Strains of Power and Strides to Authority, carried absolute Conviction of the Plan they were forming to get all Power in their Hands, and exclude all but

† It is said in the *Polychronicon* that the *Waterford* Chiefs got cashiered all small Officers employed in collecting the Tribute who would not arm on their Side. And *Giraldus* says, that *Galesius* excommunicated *Brian* and all his Adherents, and granted Indulgences for all Sins but Fornication, to all who opposed him, for the Space of fifty Years. Be this last as it will, the *Polychronicon* may be depended on.

but their own Junto from any Share in Government, or any Power and Interest in their respective Countries.

To effect and secure their Design, they had been hatching a Scheme as nonsensical as wicked; which, if practicable, must in the End prove as ruinous to *Norway* and his Interests, both at Home and in *Ireland*, as for the present it might be profitable to the Undertakers: It consisted in this, to get *Ireland* made a Province of *Norway* by Way of Union and governed by Laws made there. That is, in plain Terms, to make *Ireland* the Property of a few Men, who were to live in *Norway* in Pomp and Power, and become great, by bringing to nothing every Interest and Property they left behind them.

THEY

• Our Author in this Place seems to reason well; for tho' we have a recent Instance of an Union producing good Effects, I mean, uniting the Kingdom of *Kerry* last Year with that of *Cork*, by a long Causeway, yet in general they don't answer; and ever since *Norway* became united with *Denmark* they have both been on the Decline.

THEY were joined by several in *Ireland* on sundry Motives; and it must be owned the *Norwegians* came latest into the Scheme, as it was not their own Invention; it was agreeable to all who neither had, or were like to have any Possessions there. The *Brebons* and *Tanists*, who dispensed the Laws of *Ireland*, were rejoiced on the Prospect of being set free from all Inspection or Authority of the *Irish* Chiefs, which only restrained them from doing what they listed; the Military, the Secular Priests, and all Orders of holy Church were supposed to be ready to embrace it; but particularly the *Prelates*,* by the Influence of *Galesius*, and a false Prospect of temporal Power, were brought into it.

BUT before this *Union* could be brought about, it was necessary first, to lay a perpetual Cess on all the Cantreds of *Ireland* by the

* The *Prelates* had only one Doubt, (viz.) whether they should be called *my Lord* if the Scheme took. This was Problematick.

the Consent and Concurrence of all the *Irish* Chiefs. This was a Thing very difficult to be compassed. It was hard to persuade Men to give themselves away when there was no Occasion; * and to buy them out and out, would take a mighty Purchase, and perhaps afterwards not stand to the Bargain. The small Pittances *Galefus* procured for the Sons and Cousins of the *Irish* Chiefs in order to bring them to his Side, were too scanty to have any great Effect, and disoblighd his own Party more than they gained the other. There was but one Way, and nothing less would do, (*viz.*) getting the Disposal of the Tribute had been laid up for the Support of *Mag-* *nus's* Government, and to discharge the Debts the Chiefs had engaged to make good. When they had this in their Power, they hoped either to bring over the present Chiefs, or if they proved obstinate, to raise up a new Set

C of

* This puts one in mind of the Story of *Jack*, who was persuaded to hang himself, by huge Promises of being bettered by the Experiment.

of Chiefs who should be obedient to their Will.

WHILE *Brian* was in Power, the first Attempt they knew would prove abortive, and to break his Power by the second Attempt would be dangerous, and they had Reason to fear, would give it greater Strength, and make them odious to all the Body of the People, both in *Ireland* and *Norway*. So to bring over the present Chiefs * was their avowed Undertaking; and at last they resolved to tamper with the small Ones, *Galefius* having found, on sounding the Chiefs of *Ophaly* and *Connaught*, that Nothing was to be expected from the Principals. But their Haste proved their undoing, and their Offers and barefaced Projects, alienated, instead of reconciling, even those who were already in their Power. They all saw now, it was no Time to trifle. Those
among

* Among the petty Chiefs were Eleven, entirely at the Mercy of the *Norwegians*, who nevertheless begged to be excused.

among the Chiefs who had joined with them on personal Piques against *Brian*, saw it was high Time to forget their Resentments. Those who had concurred with them in lesser Points for private interest, and from a Persuasion that their Intentions were not so bad as was suggested, saw their mistake, and the fatal Measures were on Foot. Those who had joined them to get some increase of Power, and to top their next Neighbours, saw they were giving up irrecoverably, all Power, and the Influence that naturally belonged to them in their respective Districts. In a Word, all the Chiefs in every District of *Ireland*, who had Sense to see, or a Desire to avert the Dangers hanging over them, united as one Man under the Conduct of *Brian*.

It was vain to intimidate them with Suggestions or Threatnings, of bringing on themselves the Displeasure of *Magnus*; they knew well, it was none of his doing, but, on the contrary, that he was displeased with the

Measures that were taken, and the Arts had been used to misrepresent his People, whose Lives * and Fortunes he knew were at his Disposal.

THE Crisis was now at Hand, and the Fate of *Ireland* to be determined. All was to be staked on the Event of a second Battle, if *Galefus* and his Friends were hardy enough to attempt it: And attempt they did, though much wondered at, if their Promises proved true of getting Aid from *Norway*, the Event will soon shew. If the *Irish* Chiefs were not already certain of Success, they had such Omens on their Side as promised fair to ensure it. All People in *Ireland* who had Possessions, were mostly on their Side; and all People in *Norway* who had Possessions there, would hardly be mad enough to be against them.

AMONG

* They had frequently offered him their Lives and Fortunes, but I don't find he ever took either. But one of his Predecessors took away both.

AMONG the petty Chiefs on the other Side, were many not satisfied with their Leaders. *Galefus* was unexperienced and too much of the Undertaker, and his Friends observed he had been generally mistaken in what he predicted, to say nothing of what he asserted. The *Waterford* Chiefs were unbeloved by the People Abroad, if not at Home, and the petty Chiefs of *Leix* were not beloved either at Home or Abroad. The *Vice-Roy's* Son was too spirited and sanguine, and too fond of Action, though he had always been defeated, which lessened him in the Confidence of his own Party, and made him somewhat ridiculous to the other.

He brought over with him from *Norway* for their second Engagement, a young Commander of great Note and Ability, who had every

§ It appears in the *Chronicon*, that he once attacked a formed Army with Six Men, like *Mentzel* in the last War; who went up to the *French* Camp only with a few *Hussars*, and turning his Posteriors bid them kiss his A—e.

every Quality to render him popular in the Army, and by no Means inconsiderable in Councils of War. His Fame (though needlessly) was previously trumpeted, and he was ridiculously to be opposed to an *Irish* Chief, who had ten Times his Experience, and had never been defeated. But the *Norwegian* † (if he was one) was too wise to stake his Reputation on a forced Expedition, or hazard, on a chimerical Project, the Fortunes of his Family, who had fairer Possessions in *Ireland* than in *Norway*, and which had often served to retrieve them, when their Affairs were desperate at Home.

But on the Side of *Brian* all were unanimous; they had no Distrust of one another or any Apprehension of being defeated, as for twenty Years he had always led them to a sure, if not an easy, Victory. He had never undertaken

† This Commander, whoever he was, had the Place of his Birth disputed, but one Thing appears from contemporary Writers, that it was an Honour to any Country to have given him Birth.

undertaken any Thing desperate, and conquered by Acting on the defensive. In a Word, they relied so unreservedly on his Prudence, and had so entire a Confidence in his Integrity, that he was above the Necessity of declaring his Designs, or testifying his Measures.

In these Dispositions both Sides rendezvoused, and agreed to meet the 9th of *October* 1053, on a Green near the Suburbs of *Dublin*. They took Care on both Sides to have their Complements full, only some of *Brian's* Troops were intercepted by an Ambush, and others detained, who had relied too much on the Faith of Treaties.

WHEN they had taken their Ground, and reconitred each other † * * * * *

† Here the Parchment is rusted by the old Wall where it lay; but as Doctor *Godfrey* has undertaken to boil it, after a few Months exposing to the open Air, the Characters will be legible again.

...then any thing dangerous, and that
...by doing on the contrary to a
...they called to me, I went on my
...and had to make a Command in the
...that he was above the necessity of
...the Bishop, or to give him the

...these things, both sides
...and agreed to meet the 2nd of
...on a Green near the Sub-
...of Dublin. They took Care on both
...to have their Compliments till only
...of the 2nd were interrupted by
...and others, and others, who
...had too much on the mind of the

...then they had not their Ground, and
...and each other, I was

...the 2nd, I was told by the old Wall where
...the 2nd, I was told by the old Wall where
...the 2nd, I was told by the old Wall where